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THE Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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"HINDU MESSAGE"

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

Editor: T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar B. A.

VOL. 4.] THURSDAY JULY 24, 1919. [No. 13.

The **Hindu Message** stands for

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

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A Vision Of India.

The Ricefield, the Bamboo Cluster, and the Nanal.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

The radiant ricefield like an ocean heaves
With dancing crests with sunlit splendour rare.
The breeze with it as with a maiden fair
Doth toy and dowers with fruit of golden sheaves.
Near shines the bamboo cluster with thin leaves
Like emerald showers suspended in mid-air.
It vocal sways in breeze as if in prayer
And it the bliss of rain with joy receives.
Beyond it flows the broad rain-swollen stream
Upon whose banks do shine the Nanal spears
Like sentinels that stand with burnished arms.
To me their white and shining blossoms seem
Like bending warrior plumes when high appears
The chieftain sun to save from night's alarms.

The Hindu Message

THURSDAY EVENING 24, JULY 1919.

India and Economic Reconstruction—V.

The new economic policy of the Empire, namely, the energetic exploitation of the immense economic resources of the tropical and dependent Empire as the *Times* has so aptly described it, by a system of profit-sharing partnership between the State and private capitalist amalgamations, has, in fact been forced upon Imperial statesmanship by the imperious obligations which the last five years of war have placed upon the British Exchequer. A high financial authority, Mr. Edgar Crammond, in a speech to the Institute of Bankers, London, recently estimated the total cost of the last war at 52,000 millions sterling; of this more than 25 thousand millions had to be borne by the Allies. "There had been nothing," he said, "approaching this destruction of capital wealth in the history of the world, and this stupendous conflict had produced the greatest economic revolution of which there was any record."

On February 1st, 1919, the net amount of British national debt was 6099 millions sterling, and the interest and sinking fund charges might be estimated at 350 millions per annum. The pre-war national debt of the United Kingdom was 650 millions sterling, and the annual charge on it was 24 and a half millions only. So it will be seen that the war has added 5450 millions to the national debt and 325 millions to the annual charge.

After the war, the British Peace Budget will probably stand at 825 millions. In 1913-14 the cost of the Imperial Government was 198 millions. How to meet this increased demand is the most acute financial problem just now before the Imperial Government. The Budget for the current year has been built practically upon the balance of the last year which the sudden close of the war in the middle of the year, left in the treasury. As the Calcutta *Statesman* pointed out, the British Budget for the current year is worked upon very misleading figures. For instance the "revenue" actually includes 300 million sterling of deferred payment under last year's excess profits taxation, and a first instalment of 200 millions derived from the realisation of war assets, the sale of which is rendered possible by the early conclusion of peace. On the other hand, the departmental expenditure is kept down to the extent of 254 millions by similar realisations, which do not appear as revenue at all. Thus the nation is still living in a large measure on the results of expenditure which it authorised during the war period; and the *Statesman* opines that for some years to come it will appear for the same reason to be better off than it really is.

The stern fact is that the Imperial Exchequer will be put to very great strain for a pretty long series of years to come to meet the heavy financial obligations which the war has placed upon it. Some attempt will, no doubt, be made to recoup part at least of the war debt by the indemnity-claim from the beaten enemy; but considering the condition of the enemy-countries and the general attitude of their populations, particularly of Germany from which the largest war indemnity is claimed,

it is exceedingly doubtful if these hopes will be substantially materialised.

Indeed, British politicians and financiers seem to be quite wide awake about this matter; and from the commencement of the war various committees have been at work seeking to discover the most effective means of meeting the obligations of the war on the one hand, and of practically killing continental, and particularly German, competition in home and Colonial trade after the war.

All through the five years of war British imperialists and financiers had been seriously engaged in tackling this question of finding a way out of the grave financial and commercial crisis which was likely to be brought about by it. As early as the middle of 1917, a non-official, but very influential committe was at work seeking to solve this problem. It is known as the "Empire Resources Development Committee." Mr H. Wilson Fox M. P. was the Secretary, and Sir Starr Jameson of the Jameson Raid fame, (since dead) was Chairman of this Committee, which counted among its members Lord Islington, the late Under Secretary for India, Sir Arthur Lawley one-time Governor of Madras, Lord Grey, Mr. Ian Macpherson, the present Secretary for Ireland, Sir Henry Page Croft the leader of the newly-formed National Party in the British Parliament, and a good many other prominent British politicians and Imperialists of the *Times*-Milner school. Mr John H. Harris, writing to the *Westminister Gazette*, in May 1917, said that this Committee "has come into existence with the laudable object of providing the British public with an easy method of paying the war-debt."

The Committee (said Mr. Harris) is a private body, but its membership includes several ministers of the Crown and other gentlemen......The driving force on the Committee is that of the Rhodesian Chartered Company; Sir Starr Jameson, President of that company, is the Chairman of the "Empire Resources Development Committee," Mr. Wilson Fox, another director, is honorary secretary, whilst the Rhodesian conception of colonisation is writ large upon every one of its proposals as explained by Mr. Wilson Fox.

The manifesto of the Committee is fairly innocuous, because it is limited to laudable generalities, but the speeches of the honorary secretary disclose the whole programme in all its absurdity and crudeness. *The objective thus disclosed is that of exploiting the natural resources of the Dependencies in order to obtain "hundreds of millions sterling per annum" for the war debt, by securing these virgin assets as "Crown Estates," to be worked by monopoly syndicates, to whom would be accorded "special positions" in return for a participation in the profits by the mother-country.*

And the most significant part of the programme of the Committee, as pointed by Mr. Harris is that

It is not proposed, for the present, to apply these proposals to the Dominions, but to the Crown Colonies, Protectorates, and to India. The oil palms of West Africa and the cocoanut palms of the South Seas, India, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements are the first raw products to be attached.

The *Daily News* (London) described this scheme as "dangerous" particularly, because "it was said to have the support of five Ministers of the Crown, and was endeavouring to commit the state to a policy of Colonisation involving (to use the words of Lord Henry Cavendish Bentink, M. P.) a flagrant departure from the bed-rock principle upon which the British Empire is founded—that Government should exist for the good of the governed."

The Annual Report of the Anti-Slavery and Aboriginies Protection Society (1916—17) put it on record that

"The proposals of Mr. Wilson Fox M. P. Hon. Secretary of the Empire Development Committee, have in them every one of the vicious principles of the old Congo regime—State exploitation, monopoly of vegetable products, and the diversion of revenue from the colony which, if carried out, cannot fail to reduce the native to servitude." (Quoted by *New India* May 30, 1917.)

Lord Henry (quoted by the same paper, evidently from the report of the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society) asked: "Are they (i. e. the natives of South Africa) to be dispossessed of their property and treated as mere wage-earners and labourers? This question is assuming a character of the very greatest importance. *There is no doubt about it—a movement is on foot in this country to take away from the natives* their rights as citizens of the British Empire."

Mr Morel explained the project of the "Empire Development Committee," as one which implies "a patnership between the state and financial corporations seeking profits for investors of capital."

"In that system (he said) and in that partnership, all the past Colonial tragedies of the world have their root. For Mr. Wilson Fox the native is merely an undeveloped national asset. All West Africa, in his view, is State land. But that land belongs to the native communities of British West Africa and no one else—by treaty, by solemn obligations, by hundreds of agreements entered into by the Government of this country. It would mean converting not one treaty, but hundreds of treaties, into scraps of paper. It would be comparable only to the system introduced by Leopold in the Belgian Congo, ..."

All these criticisms seem to be fully justified by a mere glance at the "aims and proposal" of the Committee as appeared from a statement published by it in the early part of 1917. The opening words of it are:

"We, the undersigned, realising the immense latent resources of the Empire, and the possibility of developing this great and varied wealth for State-purposes under State auspices, and so *lifting from the peoples of the Empire the burdens caused by the War*, have formed ourselves into a Committee for the following purposes :—

These purposes include (a) the advocacy of the conservation for the benefit of the Empire of such natural resources as are, or may come, under the ownership or control of the Imperial Dominions or Indian Governments (b) The development of selected resources of the Empire under such conditions as will give to the State an adequate share of the proceeds.

The statement next publishes some of the suggestions that have been made to it, among which occur the following namely, that "the State should control the production of vegetable oils and fats, raised in the tropical possessions of the Crown;" and it observes:—

The facilities at the disposal of the State are obviously such as no individual or corporation can command—unlimited credit, unique source of information, power of legislation, special means of rewarding its servants, and power to conclude arrangements with foreign Governments.

And it is suggested that those facilities should be utilised for the exploitation of the natural resources of the Dependencies with a view to lift the burden of the War from the peoples of the Empire.

To work this plan out the Government will have to appoint an Imperial

Board of Controllers or Directors. It should be composed of not more than twenty prominent business men, with whom should be associated a small number of leading Civil Servants.

The Committee divided State enterprises under their scheme into two classes: (i) Undertakings which the State proposes to develop *ab initio* on its own account; and (ii) Existing businesses or trades in which the State may elect to participate. How the second class of undertakings are to be organised has been indicated as follows: The State may proceed in this class of enterprise—

(*a*) by buying out all existing interests for cash.

(*b*) by arranging to employ individuals or corporations already engaged in the business, under such conditions as would ensure to them a prosperous future, while securing to the State ownership and control ;

(*c*) by federating all interests concerned, possibly on a share or debenture basis, under arrangements which gave to the State ultimate control, and a considerable share of the profits—say one half—the State in return giving assistance and facilities for the extension of the business, particularly in connection with the raising of further capital.

As regards the effect of this great economic development upon the course of political freedom or responsible Government in the subject or dependent countries, it may be clearly realised from the following remarks of Mr John H. Harris in the *Westminister Gazette*, already referred to in the above:

"The third cardinal principle which these proposals would violate," says Mr. Harris, "......the supreme necessity of recognising indigenous law and custom, especially in so far as they affect land ownership. It is useless to say that under this scheme Mr. Wilson Fox does not aim at the expropriation of native state ownership of land. It is impossible to import any other meaning than expropriation into the following :

"There is no reason to suppose that these territories will ever receive any large measure of local self.government, and there will be the less difficulty in regarding them mainly from the standpoint of estates of the Crown, which should be developed for the general benefit of the Empire, and at the same time of their native inhabitants."

And again:

"The adoption of sane, just, and practical views in regard to native ownership of land and native labour is above all essential."

"There is no need to waste time over sentimental nonsense about the welfare of the natives : there has never yet been a servile system of exploitation which did not loudly assert that its main object was the good of the native, who, by the way, detests sentiment, and only asks for justice."

It would be a mistake to think that the "Empire Resources Development Commitee" of Sir Starr Jameson and Mr. Wilson Fox had no formal official backing from the Imperial Government. It will be remembered that an official Committee was appointed with exactly similar aims and objects namely to examine and report upon the means of the economic development of the Empire with a view to preserve and increase the trade and commerce of the Empire and organise measures for after-war trade, so that in the future the enemy nations might not be in a position to hurt the Empire in these respects. Lord Balfour of Burleigh was the Chairman of this Committee.

It should also be noted that the Dominions Royal Commision practically support the suggestion of the

Empire Resources Development Committee, in the matter of the formation of an Imperial Development Board. The Dominions Royal Commision declared that

"It was vital that the Empire should as far as possible be placed in a position which would enable it to resist any pressure which a foreign Power or group of Powers could exercise in time of peace or war, in virtue of a control of raw materials and commodities essential to its well-being.

A Committee appointed to enquire into post-war trade affairs submitted a Report unanimously recommending:

1. In the light of experience gained during the War, we consider that special steps must be taken to stimulate the production of foodstuffs, raw materials, and manufactured articles within the Empire wherever the expansion of production is possible and economically desirable for the safety and welfare of the Empire as a whole.

2. We therefore recommend that His Majesty's Government should now declare that adherence to the principle that preference should be accorded to the products and manufactures of the British Overseas Dominions in respect of any Customs Duties now or hereafter to be imposed on imports into the United Kingdom.

3. Further, it will, in our opinion, be necessary to take into early consideration, as one of the methods of achieving the above objects, the desirability of establishing a wider range of Customs Duties, which would be remitted or reduced on the products and manufactures of the Empire, and which would form the basis of commercial treaties with Allied and Neutral Powers.

It will thus be seen that while our active politicians were quarelling over such trivialities as to whether we should or should not accept the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and whether we shall declare them as worthy of our grateful acknowledgment or deserving of our rejection unless substantially modified, the leaders of the Empire were engaged in the far more vital questions concerning the development of the resources of the Empire in the interest of the capitalist enterprises of the United Kingdom and the Dominions, paving silently and insidiously the way to the gradual materialisation of the ideal and policy foreshadowed ten years ago by the *Times*.

BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

Notes and Comments.

In every state and body-politic, all are entitled to have justice meted out to them,—that is, all privilege must be abolished, equality of opportunity must be assured to all citizens, and ability—wherever it exists—must be recognised, utilised and rewarded. This is the true ideal of democracy. To go beyond these principles and to promote measures, tendencies, or dispositions which prevent the proper utilisation of character and endowments due to race, caste, or family peculiarities can only end in disaster. It is these peculiarities that give rise to the undoubted and ineradicable inequalities that we find among men.

* * *

Neither education nor environment can destroy the characteristics or endowments due to race, caste, or family. These peculiarities—of race, caste, and family values—are not the results of struggle and survival, as stated by Darwin. For, they are not the products of a process of evolution and hereditary transmission. That acquired characters are not transmitted or heritable is now conclusively established by the investigations of Weismann and others. The inequalities which inhere in the blood—*race-values* or *race-types*, as they are called—are *mainly* due to the male

element in human species, as stated by Manu, the greatest of the world's lawgivers and eugenists. Even when the males of a certain race, caste or family, marry women of a lower type, the male type tends to persist and returns again and again after a succession of such matings.

*
* *

An American writer—Mr. Cram—who is fully alive to the importance of the above facts in history and in human nature proposes the following measures in order to preserve all truly racial and family types and values. *First*, "every people must jealously guard the purity of its stock by stringent regulations restricting the immigration of those of low race-values." *Secondly*, "families of high race-values must consciously guard their heritage and contend for its preservation." *Thirdly*, "Radical difference in character, intelligence, and capacity, as between races, families, and individuals—a difference that cannot be altered by education, environment, or experience—must be accepted as a basis of social organisation, and recognised in the distribution of rights, privileges and duties.

*
* *

If we notice the organisation of Indian society in its orign and its developments during the ages preceding its decadence under foreign rule or influence, we shall find that the Indian Rishis and lawgivers took all these precautionary measures and many others as important - such as the regulations regarding intermarriages, the age of marriage, the ceremonials of marriage, &c., —with a view to the preservation of all race and family values.

*
* *

In Europe, too, the existence and variation of race-values was long preserved and proved a creative force of undoubted efficiency in the civilisation of that continent. The great wars incessantly fought in Europe since the dawn of the modern epoch down to the present world-war have tended to the destruction of all such values. Moreover, the new industrial regime has required as its leaders not men who are noted for wide and penetrating vision, for love of the right, and for honour and charity, but such as are shrewd men of business, unscrupulous, quick-witted, avaricious, daring, hard-headed, and aggressive in their aims and activities. Not perfection of human nature, but adventurous and successful exploitation of weaker men is the goal of the modern social and state regime and of its leaders,—the goal of modern civilisation and of the big imperial states and people who have figured in the history of our industrial epoch.

*
* *

Mr. Cram—the American writer above referred to—expresses his final judgment on the present topic as follows:—"Denial of race-values, refusal to profit by them in the organisation and development of society, or action carried out on the theory that education, environment, and cumulative heredity will automatically and quickly wipe out all differences and disparity, will, any one of them, bring civilisation to an end in dishonour and disaster wherever it is attempted." This prediction is already being verified in the West. A noble instinct, a fine sensibility, the force and fulness of true charity flowing from the love of man and god have almost disappeared from the face of the earth. The goal of human effort is no longer a sublime philosophy, a serene and perfect life, an exalted religion leading to the realisation of the soul's perfection, but in the building up of "a new aristocracy of power,"—*i.e.*, an empire-state or world-power, insolent and unscrupulous and aiming only at the acquisition of dominion and territory. The Modern Huns carried out to their logical perfection the measures needed for the attainment of this goal, and their phenomenal rise and their strange downfall are full of lessons for the guidance of men and communities in the future of the world's history.

An Appeal.

Dear Sir,

His Excellency the Viceroy appeals for *funds for the Imperial Indian Relief Fund*, and I request you to do what you can to help the Fund.

As you are no doubt aware, the primary

objects of the Fund are to relieve distress among the families of soldiers absent on service and to assist the widows and orphans of those who have died in service; and a secondary object of the Fund is to relieve distress among the poorer classes of the people caused directly by the war.

There are in this District many cases of the kind which the Fund is intended to benefit. There are many soldiers' widows left in poor circumstances. There are many mothers and other dependents of soldiers with barely enough to live on. There are several cases of families heavily indebted whose circumstances could be bettered by a small donation, and many who have been compelled to mortgage their houses and other property to meet unavoidable expenses.

I earnestly request you to assist the Fund both by subscribing to it and by inducing others to subscribe,

I remain,
Sir,
Yours truly,
C. G. Austin,
President, District Soldiers' Committee.

* * *

It affords us much pleasure to give publicity to the above appeal made by the Collector of our District on behalf of the Imperial Indian Relief Fund. The objects of the Fund are indeed very laudable and as such it behoves every one to help to the best of one's ability to relieve the distress among the families of soldies and the poorer classes caused directly by the war. As Mr. C. G. Austin assures us that there are many cases in this District of the kind which this Fund is intended to benefit, we earnestly appeal to the generosity of the well-to-do class of people in this District to come forward promptly and help this most deserving cause with a liberal hand. We are glad to learn that Mr. Pethatchi Chettiar, the Zamindar of Andipatti, has, with his usual generosity, given a donation of Rs. 2000/- in aid of this Fund. The Arya Gana Sabha gave a benefit performance at the Palakarai Theatre in aid of this Fund and were able to add Rs. 500 thereby to the Fund. Mr. R. Seshasayee, the proprietor of the Empire Cinema has also kindly agreed to give two benefit shows and thereby add his quota to augment the Fund. The date of these benefit shows will be announced later. We hope every one of our readers would do all in his or her power to swell the Fund and thus help this noble cause. All remittances sent to us will be gratefully acknowledged and remitted to the proper quarters.—*Ed.*

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition
By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.
(The substance of the lectures now being delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha Trichinopoly.)

ADHYAYA III.

(Continued.)

सह यज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः ।
अनेन प्रसविष्यध्वमेष वोऽस्त्विष्टकामधुक् ॥

Having created mankind along with sacrifices the Creator said at the beginning (of creation) to them: "By this shall ye grow. This will be to you the fulfiller of all desires."

Notes:

1. Some of the commentators point out that this is an *Arthavada* to make us realise the duty and blessedness of unselfish action. In the case of an *Arthavada* the emphasis is on the governing idea rather than on the form or the accessories. A familiar example is काश्यां तु मरणान्मुक्तिः. Arthavadas deal with praise and dispraise of acts and omissions, and give us illustrative stories and traditions स्तुतिनिन्दा परकृतिः पुराकल्प इत्यर्थवादः (Gautama Sutras).

2. Sri Sankara points out that this episode is introduced to make us realise the indispensableness of a life of unselfish action. Sri Ramanuja says that it is introduced to emphasise the difference between the results of the conduct of life on the basis of accepting as our food what remains after sacrificial offering and on the opposite basis.

3. Professor Rangachariar tries to bring into his exposition the conclusions of the faithful student of our religion and the faithful student of comparative religion. The faithful student of our religion is a devotee whose clarity of vision is the result of his faith. The student of comparative religion is like a pedagogue asking each religion in the world to stand up and deliver an account of itself. While a pedagogue deals with living boys, the student of comparative religion deals with mummies and living boys in the shape of dead and living religions and has a special fondness for the former. The two methods of treatment are best kept apart. Sri Krishna emphasises the supreme need of sacrifice as a purifier and uplifter of the soul. We cannot allow His doctrine to be weakened by references to any tentative conclusions propounded by the bumptious pedagogue of comparative religion.

4. What is यज्ञ ? Some take it in the larger sense of unselfish action in general and others take it in the narrower sense of sacrifices. Here the latter meaning is the more appropriate having regard to the text and the context. Our religion emphasises the need for a moral and unselfish life of service to man even more than other religions. But that is the matter for exposition elsewhere. Here the Lord deals with the question of offerings to the Devas. Unselfish service to man no doubt pleases them. But in the case of the Gods who give everything to us what can we give and what do we give to them ? In the case of our relations and friends who give a little to us, we owe a deep debt of gratitude and seek to repay it by service and love. In the case of the Gods who give us everything—nay, sustain life for us even when we are in deep sleep—what can we give ? Scripture which alone declares beyond doubt their existence and nature tells us how to please them. We can only give them a fraction of what they have provided in plenty for us. It is not the giving that is of importance as much as the spirit of the giving. What is given to them as a sacrificial love-offering is again given to us by them with renewed and increased sustaining, purifying, and uplifting power. Food eaten by us without being offered to them will be as much subject to the processes of digestion and assimilation as the food offered to them. But in the former case our appropriation of what they give is hardly a decent act worthy of self-respecting beings. In the latter case our sacrificial act declares and proves our gratitude and is sure to result in the sacrificial love-offering coming back to us with added fruitfulness and blessedness. As Prahlada says beautifully.

नैवात्मनः प्रभुरयं निजलाभपूर्णः
मानं जनादविदुषः करुणो वृणीते ।
यद्यज्जनो भगवते विदधीत मानं
तच्चात्मने प्रतिमुखस्य यथा मुखश्रीः ॥

5. But are there such gods or divine agencies in nature ? The final and incontrovertible evidence about their existence is in Scripture. शास्त्रयोनित्वात्. From the standpoint of reason we can well see that in the case of human phenomena will is the cause of design, order, symmetry, etc. In nature we see design, order etc. What right have you to say that there is no operation of will there ? What right have you to ascribe them to chance or to unintelligent nature ? Have you seen in the world of human phenomena anything to justify your ascription of such a cause to the natural phenomena ? Again, will and radiance and energy co-exist in the case of the kingdom of man. You find intenser radiance and power in the world of nature. On what basis do you deny the co-existence of will and intelligence in relation to them ? On the other hand if the function of logic is to proceed from the known to the unknown you should ascribe such higher and intenser radiance and energy to higher and intenser will and intelligence. You say that the gods should manifest themselves before your vision. Are they school boys to obey the call of you, their pedagogue ? In the case of the lower energies of nature you are willing to take the intermediate steps required for the direct perception of such energies. If you want to make electricity to light your room you do not issue a verbal command to it to do so. You generate it, you store it, and then you

apply a proper switch. Should you not take the proper steps required for the realisation and perception of the higher energies of life? *Mantras* and *Japas* and meditation and devotion are the means for the realisation and perception of the divine spiritual energies of life. Emotion and intuition and the ethical sense are certainly at least as valuable elements of us as reason and their affirmations should not be ignored.

6. The divine agencies in the universe preside over nature's energies and over the even more wonderful energies of the senses and are great *bhaktas* who are *adhikarikas* or powers entrusted with certain special tasks of guidance and control by the command of the supreme Iswara. Remember the life of Dhruva; Max Muller's view that we have transferred to natural phenomena the principle of life in us by an illogical shifting of centre is absurd. Our view is not that our sages were children playing with the facts of life as with dolls. In respect of the facts of nature and the functions of life science merely gives a long name and a longer description and calls these an explanation of their cause. We say that the divine agencies are the causes and that the physical predecessors of effects are only preliminary effects of other causes though science dignifies these as causes. Suppose a man looses his sight through small pox. You say that small pox is the cause of the loss of vision. I say that the sun who is inspirer and illuminer of the power of vision has withdrawn his *anugraha* owing to our sin and the first effect is small pox and the second effect is blindness. Max Muller's *henotheism* theory is equally absurd as he seems to think that mankind ran in blinkers seeing only one thing at a time or that the Gods were made to come into the field of vision one after another by the gyrating machinery of a spiritual bioscope. Our Vedas tell us एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति। The sages call each god the Supreme Iswara. If man could be divine why could not the deities presiding over the different energies of nature be realised as the Supreme Lord? Such theories as these are only one step removed from blindness of vision when compared with such ridiculous theories as those propounded by Mr. T. Paramasiva Iyer about the Veda embodying geological facts e.g., that gayatri is marsh gas etc.

7. Vaishnavas concentrate their gaze on the universal Lord who is the summation of all aspects of creative, preservative, and destructive power. Smarthas devote their love and attention to Him as well as the various aspects above said which are the various gods with scripture-declared forms and powers. There are some Vaishnavas who are devotees of these as well.

8. There is a certain significance in the offering of food to the Gods. The beauty of the golden corn is lost upon us like the beauty of the sun as familiarity breeds contempt. The sweetest thing in life is food. Indeed we express other needs by the terms hunger, appetite etc: if there is any divine element in life it must attach to what is the main bulk of life's action by eating and marriage leading to self-preservation and race-preservation. If one is asked to choose between going without food for three days and going without votes for three months there would not be a moment's hesitation about the choice. Food is taken to sustain life. The sense of taste acts as a door-keeper allowing healthful things alone to go in. So far as the primary need of life is concerned, if we can have an external selective agency the sense of taste might as well be abolished. If food be taken for mere enjoyment, we should always keep it on the tongue. We should surrender to the gods what we hold dearest because such an act brings about a threefold blessing: it generates in us habits of detachment, dispassion, and unselfishness; it pleases the gods who give us in abundance the things that sustain, delight, and purify life; and what is offered comes back to us with an added power of gracious blessing. Is it anything wonderful that we should have a sacramental conception of food? Indeed any other conception of it would be ungrateful or hardly even decent. Food should be pure, prepared by pure hands, free from impurity of environments, warm, and rendered even purer by *mantras*. It should then be offered to God and then partaken by us.

9. Thus it is through sacrifices that we learn our first lessons in the finest art of life—the art of unselfish and active and dispassionate blessedness. Sacrifice for blessings here and hereafter eventually leads us work in a spirit of detachment and as a love-offering to God. The spiral of ascent is like this. Sacrifice teaches us dependence on a higher power and lessens our ravenous sense of proprietorship. यज्ञः is देवतोद्देशेन द्रव्यत्यागः (Giving up wealth for the sake of God). The emotion of gratitude soon ripens into the higher emotion of love. The emotion of brotherhood is generated and intensified by sharing with our fellow-worshippers the food offered to God. Slowly the energies of dispassion and detachment and love fructify in us till the true spirit of Karma Yoga—सर्वं कृष्णार्पणमस्तु—is realised by us and this leads us to the supreme heights of God-Love and God-realisation (*Bhakti and Jnana*). Hence the highest peaks of the inner life really rest on the solid ground of a proper scheme of life as work and sacrifice.

10. सहयज्ञैः is another reading for सहयज्ञाः Both the readings mean the same thing. The former means that mankind and sacrifice were created simultaneously and the latter suggests that they were indissolubly bound one to the other. Sacrifice is the means to attainment. The good things of life come of their own accord though the sacrificer has his eye on God and not on them, just as though a man plants a mango tope for fruits, he gets fragrance and shade as well. Even if they do not come there is the supreme blessedness of loyalty to Dharma. As Apastamba says:

तद्यथाम्रे फलार्थे निर्मिते छाया गन्ध इत्यनूत्पद्यते एवं धर्मं चर्यमाणं अर्था अनूत्पद्यन्ते नो चेदनूत्पद्यन्तेन हानिर्भवति ॥

11. Sri Ramanujacharya well points out that at the beginning of creation God gave sacrifice to the human soul as a chart of life so that the soul may be freed from its accumulated load of karma.

पुरा सर्गकाले स भगवान् प्रजापतिः अनादिकाल-प्रवृत्ताचित्संसर्गविवशा उपसंहृतनामरूपविभागाः स्वास्मिन्प्रलीनाः सकलपुरुषार्थानर्हाश्चेतनेतरकल्पाः प्रजाः समीक्ष्य परमकारुणिकस्तदुज्जिजीवयिषया स्वाराधनभूतयज्ञनिर्वृत्तये यज्ञैः सह ताः सृष्ट्वैवमुवाच ॥

12. इष्टकाम—includes also Moksha. Actions and sacrifices done in a spirit of love of results brings such results. If done in a spirit of detachment and as a love-offering to God they bring to us the result of Moksha through *chittasuddhi* and *bhakti and jnana*.

(*To be continued.*)

New Hope for India.

If we wish to find in the parliamentary history of India, an event comparable in significance with the introduction of Mr. Montagu's Bill, we must go back sixty years, to the assumption by the Crown of the powers vested in the East India Company. Even that, however, furnishes only an imperfect parallel: for the Act of 1858, while making an imperial change of great moment, left the Indian system itself practically unaffected. In the course of two generations that extraordinary machine has been modified in countless ways. It has been gradually transformed in detail, and of course the general atmosphere of India has changed beyond description. A Secretariat official serving under Dalhousie, or a district magistrate trained in the heroic methods of John Lawrence, would certainly feel himself extremely uncomfortable in the India of our day. Two generations of Western influences, to say nothing of Curzon and Morley and Hardinge, have worked out to remarkable results. And yet it is true that, for all the multifarious changes of circumstance, and the gradual shift in direction, the British Government in India has preserved its essential character as a vast centralized bureaucracy.

Indians are elected to the legislative councils. A very few Indians have seats on the executive councils. But the rule of India is British. The Governor-General remains an autocrat. The legislative councils do not legislate in any sense recognizable by a self-governing people. Elected members of Council have wide freedom of debate. They vote on pretty nearly everything. Sometimes, as in the recent case of

the Rowlatt Sedition Act, they all vote together in opposition. But their action has no effect upon the course of policy, if the Executive has made up its collective mind, as nearely always it has. Lord Morley's Act of 1909, establishing the reformed councils, marked a noteworthy stage in constitutional evolution. But its principle was not that of responsible government. Before the war no prominent statesman in England had got as far as the enunciation of that principle in relation to India. By 1917, however, some of them had. On August 20th in that year a declaration was made, in brief and unequivocal terms. The goal of British policy was defined, in a statement read to both Houses of Parliament, as "the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The Bill to make further provision with respect to the Government of India, now at the second reading stage in the Commons, has been designed as the first step in the fulfilment of this pledge.

Mr. Edwin Montagu became Secretary of State for India in 1917. He spent the ensuing winter in India, and a year ago, jointly with Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, he put his name to the elaborate and interesting Report which forms the basis of the present Bill. Among those who know the working of the Indian system, there has never been any question as to the central difficulty of Mr. Montagu's task. Lord Morley's Councils carried to their furthest practicable limit the old expedient of providing for discussion and criticism without definite responsibility. Unless the problem of a gradual transition to responsible government is to be given up as insoluble, a bridge must be devised between the despotic and irresponsible executive, developed by the Company and continued under the Crown, and some modern form of responsible government, expressed in elective assemblies directed by Ministers dependent upon their support.

It is no secret that Mr. Montagu, approaching this new problem during his stay in India, was attracted by the ideas of Mr. Lionel Curtis. That interesting architect of constitutions, realizing that his design for an Imperial Commonwealth was imperfect in at least one most important aspect, was at this very time in India completing his own education, and to him is due the project of dual government, which Mr. Montagu has adapted to his scheme of provincial autonomy. After second reading, the Bill is remitted to a Joint Select Committee of both Houses; and, since the main conflict in committee will almost certainly turn upon this one question, we may consider Mr. Montagu's statement of the case for the diarchy.

In the explanatory memorandum issued with the Bill, he says that the new provincial governments are to be of a composite character. The executives are to be modelled upon the system of council government now existing in the greater provinces. That is to say, the Governor will still be assisted by a very small council, with four as a maximum, the leading members being European officials of long standing. This Executive, as now, will act as the Governor-in-Council. On the popular side the Government will consist of the Governor, with Ministers who will be elected members of the Legislative Council. Each half of the Government will have its allotted sphere of duty, and the respective shares are to be defined in such a way as to fix on each section responsibility for its own work. A large share of the affairs of the province will come under the head of "transferred subjects," and will provide the ground for experiment in autonomy, while other subjects, chiefly those touching the interests of all India, will be "reserved" to the Governor-in-Council. The Ministers in whose hands will rest the administration of transferred subjects must not be officials; but, though responsible to the Assembly as elected members, they are to hold office at the Governor's pleasure, not to be removeable by a hostile vote.

So far as we are able to discover, this scheme of elected Ministers separate from the Executive is presented by the authors of the Bill as the only plan which allows for the gradual transfer of power to the representatives of the electorate. It has inevitably been subjected to elaborate criticism; but only one alternative proposed

by the Indian bureaucracy is deemed worthy of specific mention in Mr. Montagu's memorandum. This provides for an executive council, consisting of an equal number of official and non-official members, and no division of functions. It is the alternative suggested by the governments of five provinces, and is rejected by the Secretary of State, mainly on the ground that "it does not enable responsibility for any act of government to be fixed on any member of the executive" Mr. Montagu's explanation implies, we think, that the diarchy stands because no body of opinion in official India has been found advanced or courageous enough to acknowledge the urgent necessity of a change in the executive control of India; to accept the fact that the transfer of power must come, and to see that it can only come without disaster if the best and ablest members of the bureaucracy show themselves ready to face the situation.

So crucial is this matter of the autonomous province and the means devised for attaining it, that secondary attention only will be given in committee to the proposed change in the supreme government of India. The Indian argument always is that provincial self-government, even within narrow limits, is impossible unless two great reforms are attained: the control of the purse by a responsible executive, and a thorough reconstruction of the authority officially known as the Governor-General-in-Council. The Montagu Bill is very cautious in the first matter; in the second, it assuredly does not provide for any diminution of the immense powers of the executive Government of India. The Viceroy's Legislative Council numbers at present 68. Its membership is to be enlarged to 120, with 80 elected. But this Chamber is to be balanced by a new Council of State, to consist of fifty-six members, half-official: a Second Chamber more than powerful enough to ensure that "the capacity of the Government of India to obtain legislation which it regards as essential shall remain unimpaired." In a word, the provincial Assemblies may legislate, the Viceroy's Legislative Council may use its large elected majority: but the Governor-General-in-Council must continue in his unimpaired supremacy.

Mr. Montagu has set himself a task of extraordinary difficulty; a task by comparison with which that accomplished by Lord Morley ten years ago was simple and almost easy. His foes are of three kinds; the Anglo-Indian extremists, who refuse to admit that anything should or can happen in our Eastern dominion; the Indian extremists, who have no interest in constitutional change; and the inert mass, in Parliament and without, for whom India is anything save a great responsibility and opportunity. But one thing is certain: this Bill, or a better Bill, must pass if India is to become in any real sense a member of the Imperial Commonwealth.

The Nation.

What is Patriotism?

[By G. Harischandra Row.]

There is a world of difference between the patriotism of India and of other countries. Though the westerns, for instance, love their respective countries, they do not love them with the fervour with which the inhabitants of Hindustan do their mother country. For, their is no sacred element in the patriotism of those nations. Many of them are fond of their countries for no other reason than that they were hurled down there for the first time from above. Some value their lands for their diamond mines or coal mines, gold fields or corn fields, mountains of snow or hills of sand, forests of rich timber or jungles of underwood, lakes of crystal water or marshes of salt crystals, lions or jackals, cows or pigs, horses or donkeys. Others, again, are fanatics, regarding their own countries to be the best in every respect; they are like the frogs in a well. In fact, the mother country of any of these peoples is gross, low, "earthy, material," in the words of Carlyle. The love or regard which a citizen of a foreign country professes for it is not spiritual; it is entirely material. It is evinced even by some beasts and birds, which defend their homes with a greater self-sacrificing tenacity than any of the most patriotic men of the occidental world. There is nothing grand or commendable, therefore, in this sort of patrio-

tism, which, on the other hand, often impels people only to deeds of unjustifiable aggression and petrifying cruelty. Again, these nations or tribes are not yet free from their nomadic habits; they have no fixed home or habitation; their lives are mostly spent on the elements or in hotels; they are constantly on the look-out for mere islands and continents. When colonies are established, there is in many cases a tug of war between these and the mother country; for, the colonists generally struggle for absolute autonomy while the inhabitants of the original country endeavour to preserve their suzerainty or at least the bond of fraternity.

The Aryan idea of patriotism is different. We are not only to be proud of our land as the source of all comforts and luxuries, but also to be devoted to her as a Goddess of Wisdom and Bliss. We are to cherish for our mother country not merely the temporal affection characterising the non-Hindu races of the world, but also the reverence due to a *Devata* or Goddess. In short, we are required to deify our land. Again, as our scriptures describe the earth as a wife of Vishnu, we should worship her as reverently as we do Vishnu Himself. Further, as our mother is to be reverenced, so is *Matru Bhumi* (Mother Earth); for, the Vedas exhort us to regard our mother as a Goddess "*Matru Devo bhava.*" Again, if you consider the system of pilgrimages in India, you will come to understand how pure and lofty an opinion we entertain about the rivers, lakes, mountains and forests of our vast country. Our pious people who live near Cape Comorin will proceed on a pilgrimage to Badarika Aranya on the Himalayas. Similarly devotees from Srinagar in Kashmere will travel all the way to Rameswar which sanctifies the southern coast. Bhakti or reverence is not to be found among those who are too materialistic to regard anything holy. Do they ever adore their rivers just as we do our Ganga or Narmada? It is Hinduism and Hinduism alone that has the boldness and charitableness to proclaim to the world that one attains the *summum bonum* of life even by a dip in the Ganges or a sip of her sacred water. Moreover, one of the reasons why we do not like immigration so much as other nations do, is that the patriotic sentiment is too strong in us to admit of our absence from home for a considerable period. We wish to be born in India; we are anxious to lay our bones on the Indian soil, like the late Dadabhai Nowroji who, when his health had failed, purposely returned to India to die peacefully at home. Some of our so-called educated men, who have no respect for the past, who disown their ancestors, deny their traditions, despise their religion, and denounce their country-men, are no patriots, because by a country we mean not only the dry bones of mountains and forests but also the people dwelling in it together with their traditions and religious beliefs. Lastly, patriotism is not an import from abroad; it is indigenous; only the Hindu product is purer and more refined than any other.

Sri Dakshina Bharata Dharma Mandalam, Trichinopoly.

(By T. V. SWAMINATHAN, General Secretary.)

1. A public meeting of the Sanatana Dharma Hindus of Trichinopoly was held in the Hindu Secondary School on Sunday the 15th instant at 5 P. M. to concert measures for the holding of the next "Mahadhiveshan" of the Benares Mahamandal in this province.

Among those present were the Hon'ble K. V. Rangaswami Iyangar of Kodiyalam, Messrs. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, District Munsiff, Srirangam, Pandit Padmanabha Sastry of St. Joseph's College, Professor L. R. Ramachandra Iyer of the Presidency College, M. K. Acharya of Madras, Rao Saheb L. A. Rengaswami Iyer, Dr. T. A. Swamiapillai, Ambil Narayana Iyangar, K. V. Venkatasubba Iyer B.A., B.L., and M. S. Natesa Iyer.

On the motion of the Hon'ble K. V. Rengaswami Iyangar, M. R. Ry. K. S. Ramaswami Sastrigal was voted to the chair.

It was resolved to hold the "Mahadiveshan" for 3 consecutive days, at Srirangam, about the time of the Ekadesi festival, the time to be fixed later on, either in the last ten days of December, or first 10 days of January next.

A strong influential Reception Committee representative of all Sanatana Dharmis in South India, Rajahs, Zemindars and other gentlemen and consisting of more than 100 persons, with power to add to their number, was formed and a Managing Committee consisting of the Hon'ble K. V. Rengaswami

Iyangar, (President) N. D. Subbarama Iyer. (Treasurer) Messrs. A. V. Gopalachariar, and T. V. Swaminatha Iyer, Rao Saheb. L. A. Rengaswami Iyer and Kutthaukottam Pandit Srinivasachariar (Secretaries) was also formed to collect donations and subscriptions.

The Hon'ble K. V. Rengaswami Iyangar, has been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Hon'ble H. H. Maharajah Sir Rameshwarsingh Bahadur. G. C. I. E. and K. B. E. of Darbhanga has been elected President of the "Mahadhiveshan"

It is estimated that the celeberation of this Grand Hindu Religious convocation will cost nearly Rs 7000 including presents to Pandits and it is requested that all subscriptions and donations may be remitted to the General Secretary, Sri Dakshina Bharata Dharma Mandal, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.

Fee for membership of the Reception Committee has been fixed at a minimum of Rs. 10.

The Week.

The Hon'ble Mr. Mian Mahomed Shafi C.I.E. has been appointed to succeed Sir. Sankaran Nair as the Executive Member of the Imperial Council. The appointment has not created any enthusiasm whatever. The *Mahratta* thus writes:—"It is rather unfortunate for Mr. Shafi that while his appointment was being approved of by His Majesty he should be subjected to a damaging criticism by the Martial Law Tribunal of Lahore. That Tribunal says that 'Mr. Shafi and the Rais class are not persons of influence in Lahore. On the contrary there is ample evidence of a *convincing* kind that the people of the city regard them as time-servers and title-hunters'. It also insinuates that the threats given by the public leaders had influenced Mr. Shafi so much that he had given his vote against the Rowlatt Bill solely on account of them. The commissioners further remark that Mr. Shafi and others are in no way leaders of the public, but are led by them. The sentences we have cited do not do any credit to Mr. Shafi. His public career otherwise is also not very promiscuous and it is certainly disappointing to see him succeed Sir Sankaran Nair."

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We offer a hearty welcome to H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaneer on his return home after an absence of about eight months spent in furthering the cause of India. His Highness holds the proud position of having been the only Indian on the spot authorised to sign the Peace Treaty on behalf of India. We owe it chiefly to His Highness that India has been included as a member of the League of Nations As the Maharaja himself has stated 'it was not as easy a matter as it may appear to an ordinary man in the street' and it was left to him alone to conduct the final negotitations succesfully. India is certainly proud of His Highness for the noble work he has done for her and rejoices with him on the importance she has achieved through his instrumentality. Further, his famous speech on the Indian Reforms in which His Highness gave a crushing blow to the Sydenhamites and solemnly warned the British Government against delay and vacillation will long be gratefully remembered by the Indians.

* * *

The news of the death of Dr. T. M. Nair in England will be received with profound regret throughout the Presidency. But for the propaganda of class antagonism which he advocated for the past three years as the champion of the non-Brahmin movement and by which he has done not a little to sow seeds of dissension among the public, we could acclaim him as a great man on account of his varied talents and conspicuous ability. In civics and local self government he was an authority. His powerful onslaught on the Government early in the current year in the local Legislative Council to which he was nominated as an expert, for their niggardly, illiberal, and halting attitude in introducing an unsatisfactory measure to reform the Madras Corporation will be too fresh in the memory of our readers to need recapitulation. Professionally he had a very lucrative practice as an expert in ear and throat diseases. His enthusiasun for the medical science was so great that he not only wrote a treatise on diabetes but also founded and edited a medical journal called "The Antiseptic."

Olla Podrida.

Is this all that modern swamis are doing? Swami Rudra-Kotiswara of the Health Brigade at Madras is to deliver health lectures at Mayavaram. Health Brigade

indeed! We shall, I suppose, be soon hearing of meditation regiments and devotion battalions.

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We learn that there has been an epidemic of strikes, including a strike by the weather which stands at 105° and refuses to budge in many places.

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Russia is specialising in cholera and typhoid. Grand Duke Boris has been expelled from France and is not wanted in Spain. Such is the world!

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The great event of the day is the slaughter of the innocents. Now that the great war is over and men are tired of fighting with equals, they have begun to, wage war against infants. We are having daily wails in the papers about the S.S.L.C. tragedy. What is S. S. L. C., I wonder? Slow Sure Life Crusher? Our boys crowd at the gates of this Giant Despair and pray for the privilege of his fatal grace.

The S. S. L. C. (what a South Sea Island name!) is once again prominently before the public gaze like Cain after he disposed of Abel. The slaughter of the innocents is being successfully accomplished. In some campaigns the success is always on the one side continuously.

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It is pleasant to turn from tragedies to comedies. *New India* conveyed its heartiest congratulations to the bridegroom and the bride on the occasion of a recent wedding. But what is the secret of the recent increase in the number of *Devis* in the world. Whoever is patronised by New India is called a Devi. The marriage ceremonies also are undergoing strange transformations. Flowers, incense, music, toasts, feasts, presiding *Pracharaks*, smart and well-fed and well-groomed, in frock-coats and gold spectacles in the place of the old ill-clad vaidiks, newspaper reporters, motor cars, stiff collars, etc. etc. etc. are in evidence everywhere. Holy Hymen in a new garb!

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We are very glad that peace has been signed. There might be mental reservations. But not even the Devil knows the mind of man.

Meantime, Influenza is starting on his third campaign. What is his budget of human lives this time, I wonder!

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There are some peculiar features about the peace viz., that even now Russia is having the negation of peace and that the bigger nations are having big programmes of naval construction during the coming year. Happy modern humanity!

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Quite recently a paper-chase was advertised to be held. What is a paper-chase? Is it the chasing of papers?

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Quite recently when holding a durbar and conferring a sunnud the recipient of the honour was congratulated on his advancing the cause of social reform and filling up the gaps in the education of women. So social reform activity is a passport to titles, is it? We live and learn.

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On 2-7-19 Mangalore had a shower of red rain. I suppose it can have plenty of red-letter days.

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A Parsi correspondent writing recently to the *Times of India* takes credit for his community having been the first to adopt European Costume and to have women instructed by English teachers. What a wonderful accomplishment!

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How newspapers chronicle even petty details about great men! When Sir Sankaran Nair came to Madras a few days ago, the papers chronicled who sat beside him in the carriage and stated also which High Court Vakil sat besides the coachman!

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The Editor of *New India* has begun to pour his shower of compliments on Madras speakers. What a wonderful command of superlatives he has got!

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Quite recently the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay converted James into Sridhar. Bravo! Well done.

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